HE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

ROUND TABLE

MINORITIES

A Radio Discussion by RALPH MCGILL
AVERY O. CRAVEN *and* ROBERT REDFIELD

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Around the Round Table . . . .

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AVERY O. CRAVEN, of the department of American history of the University of Chicago, was born in North Carolina and educated at Simpson College (Iowa), Harvard University, and the University of Chicago. Before joining the faculty on Chicago's Midway, he had taught at the College of Emporia, Michigan State College, and the University of Illinois. In history his field of specialization has been the study of the South and West and particularly of the Civil War. In addition, Dr. Craven is an expert on conservation and soil problems. He was president of the American Agricultural Society in 1930 and in recent years has been a lecturer for the United States Department of Agriculture. He is the coauthor of *Sources of Culture in the Middle West* and author of *Soil Exhaustion in Virginia and Maryland* (1925); *Edwin Ruffin: Southerner* (1931); *To Markie* (1933); *The Repressible Conflict* (1939); and *The Coming of the Civil War* (1942).

ROBERT REDFIELD, a member of the anthropology department of the University of Chicago, has been dean of the Division of Social Sciences of the University since 1934. Dean Redfield received his Ph.B., J.D., and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Chicago and has been associated with the University's anthropology department since 1927. He is a research associate of the Carnegie Institution of Washington in charge of ethnological and sociological field work and a member of the Social Science Research Council. Since 1930 Dean Redfield has done extended research and study in Yucatan and Guatemala. He is the author of *Tepoztlán: A Mexican Village* (with Alfonso Villa) (1930); *Chan Kom: A Maya Village* (1934); and *The Folk Culture of Yucatan* (1941).

MINORITIES

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MR. REDFIELD: This country was settled by many kinds of people from many kinds of places, so it has always had minority problems, but those problems are being highlighted by the war. Wouldn't you say so, Craven?

MR. CRAVEN: Yes. They have been not only highlighted, but what formerly have been local problems have, by the war, been lifted into national problems by the fact that this has become a war of values.

MR. MCGILL: I would say that, more than national, they have become international. I don't think that we've ever had a war before in all our history—in the history of the world for that matter—in which human rights were so emphasized.

MR. REDFIELD: That seems to me a very good, pious statement, but if I may say so, gentlemen, doesn't the real question lie behind that? Isn't the real question the difference between what we practice and what we preach? We claim a democracy, and we don't grant it to these minority groups.

MR. CRAVEN: Yes, but, before we get into that, it seems to me our first problem is one of definition. What do we mean when we talk about a "minority"? Almost every American, at some time or other in his life, is in a minority. I have been in minorities in elections and so forth. Are you talking about people who are defeated in elections, second parties, and so forth?

MR. REDFIELD: Of course, we aren't talking about such groups, Craven. I assume that we are talking about minority groups that have persisting ways of life so that we can recognize them as a group with customs and institutions that set them off from the rest of us.

MR. CRAVEN: Not only that, but I think we also have to recognize the fact that we have minority groups in a condition where the majority control the social, economic, political order, and the minority party has some problem to overcome, or some difficulty to overcome, in securing its rights.

MR. MCGILL: You'd come down, then, to the fact that your definition might well say that a minority is any group which is denied the rights of the majority.

MR. REDFIELD: That's very different from the situation in, for example, say Fascist Italy, where a minority dominates a majority. That is not our minority problem.

MR. MCGILL: But I think we're talking about the United States —the minorities in the United States.

MR. CRAVEN: There, of course, we have very definite groups. First of all, I should think that we would have to mention the Negroes, who constitute a large body—thirteen millions of people—and constitute a definite group because of color and other cultural factors. That's not all.

MR. MCGILL: No. There are also the Jews, who for more than a thousand years have been a definite minority group.

MR. REDFIELD: Let us not forget the Japanese and the Mexicans —smaller in number than the two groups you have mentioned—but, nevertheless, they present particular problems. The Japanese number over a hundred thousand, many of them citizens, born here; the Mexicans, several hundred thousand, congregated chiefly, of course, in the Southwest.

MR. MCGILL: Redfield, you have just returned from a trip, I

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believe, to investigate the condition of the Japanese in these camps that we've put them in.

MR. REDFIELD: I did see something of it. The queer thing there is that we have segregated over seventy thousand of our fellow-citizens without looking at their particular individual dangerousness but simply because they belong to that racial group. America has always had minority problems.

MR. CRAVEN: Yes, but these groups that you're mentioning are now highlighted by peculiar circumstance. If you'll go back just a little, almost every immigrant group in the United States, at some time or other, was a minority group and was viewed in that light.

MR. MCGILL: There are forty million persons in the United States who are either foreign-born or children of immigrants; and, of course, they all were, at one time or another, a sort of problem.

I'd like to raise a second question. What do these minority groups have in common?

MR. REDFIELD: If I'm to answer the question, or to make a beginning with it, I would mention two matters.

In every case, it seems to me, we have a domination by the majority of the minority. That is to say, the minority group doesn't enjoy fully the rights and opportunities of the rest of the people in the country. The second point I would make—it's already been implied by what we have said—namely, is that they are recognizable In terms of culture or in terms of race the minority is set off from the rest of us.

MR. CRAVEN: Not only that, but isn't there a tendency to segregate these groups? Do not they tend to live in one place, off to themselves? For instance, the Jew is largely congregated in New York.

MR. REDFIELD: About two million.

MR. CRAVEN: About two million in New York. We find the Negroes very largely in the South, where there are about 70 per

cent of the nation's Negroes living. Even there, in the South, 70 per cent of those Negroes live in the rural districts.

The Japanese and the Mexicans are both in the Southwest. The matter of segregation, to a certain extent, enters into the minority problem.

MR. MCGILL: I think that the dissatisfaction which exists in these groups is a factor which sets them apart and is something they all have in common. It is true that in the South about 70 per cent of all the Negroes are rural persons, but each Negro group, no matter where it is, has its hopes raised and its ambitions raised by this war and by the possibilities that their rights as a minority may be granted them.

MR. REDFIELD: What do you include in those rights, McGill?

MR. MCGILL: I would include in their rights all civil rights—the right to be a person, the right to have equal opportunity—all the rights, I think, that any of us enjoy.

MR. CRAVEN: But I'm afraid that that wouldn't cover it all. Many of these minority groups want more than simply opportunity of a certain kind. Most of them now are talking more or less in abstract terms, and we're talking about a conflict of values in the world. They're asking for recognition as persons and for something of the dignity of the individual that enters into the democratic doctrine.

MR. MCGILL: That's just what I said—the right to be a person.

MR. REDFIELD: The point, therefore, is not to be considered simply in terms of jobs. Men often take worse jobs if they are going to be recognized as human beings and with the dignity of the human being. The Negro will give up much, as any of us will give up, in order that he may be accorded the same respect any other American is accorded.

The South, or any other part of this country, can hardly solve its problem, then, without recognizing or considering status as a part of the problem.

MR. CRAVEN: There is one thing that I think we must recognize. We've been talking as though the whole minority problem arises out of the dissatisfaction of the lower groups, and of their status, and so forth. I think there's another side, namely, the attitude of the majority. The majority have a stake in maintaining the status quo, as a rule. The majority are satisfied with things as they are. They look on any unusual activity on the part of a minority group as a threat to the established condition. As soon as that happens, then, the majority group begin to be aggressive. They begin to be fearful; and that is more acute where this majority group are not secure, or where they have some peculiar condition that makes this threat great.

MR. REDFIELD: McGill must know something about that because he's in the heart of it.

MR. MCGILL: I do know something about it. One of the things that disturbs me is the fact that I know, out of knowledge obtained through investigation, that there is active all through this country, not merely in the South—in fact, most of the really energetic part of it stems out of the other sections, which is determined to bring about a reaction in this country—a reactionary trend in government and in thinking.

MR. REDFIELD: How so?

MR. MCGILL: We come back to what Craven said about the fear of the majority. I think that explains it. They want to dominate. They want to dominate their way. It's a national movement, and it's certainly going to clash with this thing that we call "democracy."

MR. CRAVEN: It's more dangerous, also, because where there is a group that are on tension, and where there is a group that are fearful that the status quo is going to be upset, it's always possible to take that fear and make use of it for some other purpose. The conservative movement in the country will tend to capture the South, where, as a matter of fact, the basic fear there may be a matter of

the minority fear rather than these larger conservative issues on which the South will be asked to give a driving force.

MR. REDFIELD: Yet, gentlemen, you would agree with me, probably, that it isn't sufficient merely to deplore the dangers of doing something about the Negro or any other minority in this country. We must do something about it in spite of the dangers. The fact that conservative reaction is possible, or that existing interests don't want us to do the right thing by our minorities, is not to prevent us from trying to do the right thing.

MR. MCGILL: Not at all. The point that I was trying to make was simply this: We must not have any effort here to do all or nothing, all at once. This thing has got to be thought out and planned out along an intelligent workable basis.

MR. REDFIELD: I would agree with that. Therefore, it seems to me that our listeners on the University of Chicago ROUND TABLE want us to turn to what must be the main subject—the consideration of each of the particular minority groups in this country, or at least some of them, with some attention to the individual problems of each and how those problems are to be solved, if at all.

MR. CRAVEN: I should say, first of all, if we're going to do that, we have to take the Jew, for the simple reason that that is the one that runs farthest back into human history. There, I think, we run across one of the most fundamental things in this whole problem—the tendency to make scapegoats out of a minority element. Whenever the dominant group finds something that stirs their fears, or where they become disturbed, they tend to light on one of these groups and to use that group as an excuse for reactionary effort.

The Jew has been the scapegoat through the centuries, and, historically, he has borne the enmity of the dominating group often for no reason other than his economic prosperity.

MR. MCGILL: Redfield, a moment ago I asked you about your visit out to the Relocation Centers where we have the Japanese. Would you elaborate along that line, following Craven's idea?

MR. REDFIELD: I might remark that, in the case of the Japanese, we have segregated in so-called "Relocation Centers" about a hundred thousand persons—two-thirds of whom are citizens of the country—on no basis of individual dangerousness, but solely because they represent, racially, a group with whom we are at war. It's the first time democratic America has incarcerated any considerable number of its citizens on a racial basis.

MR. MCGILL: Of course, the Mexican is a problem in Texas and California, to be sure.

MR. REDFIELD: There, of course, it's the contrast between the subordinated position of the Mexican and our Good Neighbor policy that makes the problem.

But the Negro, after all, is our number-one minority problem, and I think that we must discuss that if we are to discuss anything. Craven, won't you set the ball rolling?

MR. CRAVEN: Of course, the Negro does, in every one of the ways that we have marked out, represent the minority group to the *n*th degree. There's a line that is to be discerned in the matter of color. Not only that, but the Negro is concentrated pretty much in one section of the country. If ever there is a problem under the sun that had something of history and tradition back of it, it is the Negro problem. If I can judge, there are the other two things—restlessness on the part of the Negro as never before, demanding his rights and recognition as an individual, and there is also a stimulation of fears on the part of the dominant group. The majority, in other words, are as much disturbed over the race question as the Negro himself. How about that, McGill?

MR. MCGILL: That's true. The Negro in the South does constitute, as we've mentioned before, about 70 per cent of all the Negroes in the United States. I would say that 70 per cent of the southern Negroes live on farms or in small rural towns. They are dissatisfied. They do want something. They do want rights, and they should have them.

MR. CRAVEN: I want to say just one thing there, in that connection, McGill. It seems to me that, as far as the Negro problem is concerned, one of the great difficulties we have in facing it, or understanding it, is the fact that we think it is strictly a southern problem.

MR. REDFIELD: Do you think it is?

MR. CRAVEN: I'm not so certain. Let me say that I think it is more than a southern problem. I think it is a national problem. It seems to me that until we can conceive of the problem as a national problem we can't even begin to solve it.

MR. REDFIELD: The fact that what we do with reference to the Negro is attended to by persons in all parts of the world today, including our own Allies of a different color, is a fact that makes it not only a national problem but an international problem. You cannot leave it to any local community any more, I would say.

MR. MCGILL: Now you're talking down my alley, so to speak, because it is a national problem, because the South itself is a minority. You might say that the Negro is the "minority's minority."

The South is a problem which the nation is going to have to deal with. I don't want to go into any long dissertation about freight rates and so on, but it is a fact that the freight-rate differentials set up immediately following the Civil War have tended to keep the South a colonial section and a raw-material section.

MR. CRAVEN: Don't ignore the tariff, McGill.

MR. MCGILL: I wanted to come to that in a minute. You can ship raw materials out of the South very cheaply, but for the same distance it costs you more to ship a manufactured article if it is manufactured in the South.

The tariffs—I recall in the investigations in 1929, following the collapse of the nation's economy, that it was brought out in the Senate (and all these things are readily available) that the tariff brought wealth into the state of Connecticut in one year which was

equal to the total income of any five southern states one wanted to select. In other words, here we have a southern section which the nation has so treated that it is too poor to do anything about its problems, really.

Mr. Craven: I'm glad to hear you say that, McGill, because it seems to me that nothing stands in the way of the solution of our minority problem so much as that constant assumption in certain quarters that the only reason that the Negro does not have his rights everywhere and the only reason that the Negro has not progressed as he should in the South is southern stupidity, southern brutality, and a refusal to face the honest question. The nation has created, to a certain extent, the southern situation, and it is the nation's responsibility.

Mr. Redfield: I'm glad to hear you say that it's the nation's responsibility. If it is the nation's responsibility to do something about the South, it is equally the nation's responsibility to do something about the Negro in the South as in the North.

If there is a difference of freight rates which is to the disadvantage of the South, there is a difference of living conditions which is to the disadvantage of the Negro. The Negro has a chance of living eleven less years of life than a white man has, and they will be sicker years, and years in which he is less well housed and fed.

Mr. Craven: Yes; but, Redfield, there's another side to it. Not only did the nation, to a certain extent, create the problem and have the South struggle against conditions to alleviate her own inferior position, but you must remember the nation created a psychological situation in the Reconstruction program and the Reconstruction program put the South at a disadvantage from the very beginning.

Mr. Redfield: Yes. We hear a great deal (I think, sometimes, too much) of the difficulties of doing anything about the Negro problem because of the situation of the South and because of the resentment of certain southerners (and by no means all) if anyone

tries to improve the condition of the Negro, especially in the South.

But I still ask—something has to be done about the Negro—is this the time to do it, and what is it we are to do?

Mr. McGill: I think that's my question to answer, and I'd like to answer it by saying "Yes." Emphatically, it is the time to do something.

I would, though, like to make it clear that I don't think it's the time to make it the paramount issue. The war is the paramount issue. I would not want it to be an issue which would interfere with the winning of the war, but I think it is an important issue and that now is the time to begin to do something about it.

Mr. Craven: I agree with that on this basis. It seems to me that first things must come first, and we must, first of all, consider the winning of the war. I would say that it is a good time to do something about the Negro question—do something, however, in ways that will not interfere with the major problem.

Mr. Redfield: I would challenge, if you imply it, any separation of the Negro problem from the problem of winning the war. I would ask if a strong step forward toward a solution of the Negro problem is not also a step toward winning the war and the peace to come after.

Mr. Craven: Redfield, I agree with that; but it seems to me that you have to understand what you mean when you talk about facing the Negro question. If you're facing it in a way where you're going to make actual progress, all right. If you're only going to disturb conditions and arouse emotions and fears—for, remember, the South is a region where they have to fear things and where, because of their poverty and other conditions, the white man himself is, to a certain extent, an economic rival of the Negro, for there are not enough jobs to go around in the South—I want to make certain that you're understanding that the South, her problem first of all, her economic prosperity and things of that kind, must be lifted by the nation before the South can do much for the Negro.

MR. REDFIELD: I would agree with everything but the word "before." I would say "simultaneously."

MR. MCGILL: I think it could be done simultaneously. Coming from the South, I'd like to echo what was just said—that there aren't enough jobs in the South. There never have been. The dominant race down there is going to take all the jobs it can. It has done it; it will continue to do it in this country or any other country. But if we can get rid of this thing as the war goes along and get more industry, create more jobs, then the Negro will have more jobs.

MR. REDFIELD: Would you say that it is right, McGill, for the dominant race to take more than its share of the jobs?

MR. MCGILL: I don't say that it's right. It never has been right in this country or any other country, but it's human nature. It goes along everywhere.

The Negro suffers along with the poor white man in the South because there isn't enough work or enough jobs. The start can be made to give the Negro equal pay for equal work; to give the Negro his full civil rights; to give the Negro those rights which are immediately available. That is the start.

MR. CRAVEN: I'd like to say one thing there, also. There is too much of a tendency to ignore the fact that the South has made an effort to solve the problems.

MR. MCGILL: That's true.

MR. CRAVEN: All southerners do not think alike on these questions. They do not act alike on these questions. I agree with Jonathan Daniels when he says that there are more men in the South who conscientiously are interested in giving the Negro his chance than there are people of the same sort in the North. If we ignore that group, if we create conditions where that group are offended, and if we create emotional circumstances where that group cannot do the most effective work, it is one of the saddest things as far as

the solution of the question is concerned. The greatest loss the Negro can at this time suffer is the loss of the friendship of the southern people and the support of the southern liberal leaders.

MR. REDFIELD: We all applaud that leadership. The question is: In what direction should it lead? I would say that it is no longer possible for that leadership to lead only in terms of local problems and local issues. I would say that the race problem has now become so important to the security of the nation that the national government must, in some form or another, declare its interest in solving it and implement that interest by appropriate legislation.

MR. CRAVEN: I'm interested in what you mean there. How far are you intending that the national government should go? Are you talking merely about the statement of some large, general position, or are you talking about concrete legislation for concrete problems?

MR. REDFIELD: I am not sure how far I would go, but I am attracted by the degree of success which has been made already by the appointment of the Committee on Fair Employment Practices. The success that that committee had was in the early days of its appointment, and I understand that more recently it has done less well. But it seems to me to suggest the path down which we might go.[1]

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[1] On June 25, 1941, President Roosevelt issued Executive Order No. 8802 concerning discrimination against Negroes. In part, this order said:

". . . . It is the policy of the United States to encourage full participation in the national defense program by all citizens of the United States, regardless of race, creed, color or national origin . . . . that all departments and agencies of the Government concerned with vocational and training programs for defense production shall take special measures appropriate to assure that such programs are administered without discrimination . . . . and that all contracting agencies of the Government shall include in all defense contracts hereafter negotiated by them a provision obligating the contractor not to discriminate. . . . ."

Shortly after the Executive Order was issued, the President appointed a Committee on Fair Practice, which should "investigate complaints of discrimination in violation of the provisions of this order and shall take appropriate steps to redress grievances." The Committee was made directly responsible to the Presi-

I would make a concrete proposal. I would suggest the enactment of a Fair Racial Practice Act. Such an Act might declare the policy of the national government to prevent racial discrimination in all matters of employment and economic relationships throughout the country.

Enforcement of the Act would be left to local communities and to groups chosen from the local communities. The purpose of the Act would be to prevent such discrimination in all economic relations.

MR. MCGILL: That's something I haven't thought about. I might go along with you on it. I don't know how far. My immediate reaction is, though, that that would not be a good thing. It was tried, in one degree or another, a good many years ago, immediately following the Civil War. It didn't work out. Human nature doesn't change. I think you might drive abuses further underground.

MR. REDFIELD: I wonder if the comparison is quite fair. That was almost a hundred years ago. It was just after a bitter civil war. Now, we have had almost a century of education, greater than this country or any other country has ever known; and we are in the midst of a struggle for national survival, the like of which we have never had before.

MR. CRAVEN: Redfield, I don't believe you know how close the Civil War is to the South and how close the effects of the Civil War are to the South, even today.

Let's go back to the condition you have suggested of federal control. We tried that, as McGill has said, right after the Civil War. The mess that we're in at the present time, as far as the southern

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dent, and it was to recommend to the President that, where it found violations of the discrimination clause, action was to be taken by the Executive to stop such discrimination. The Committee has since been transferred to the War Manpower Commission. When Negro leaders protested this transfer, the President reassured them in a public statement that there would be no abatement of the Committee's fight against discrimination in employment. The War Manpower Commission has recently suspended hearings on complaints of discrimination.

attitudes and as far as the racial problem is concerned, is, in large part, due to the blundering of that federal policy. It tried to impose upon the South conditions in federal legislation and to make the South accept things that they were not ready to accept.

MR. REDFIELD: Of course, I would not impose anything on the South. I am proposing national legislation, enacted in our Congress after full and public hearing and by the application of every safeguard of democracy which we now know.

MR. CRAVEN: Yes, but that federal legislation cannot go beyond, if it's going to effectively work, the point that the southern people will accept it.

What I was trying to say was that after the Civil War a condition was created there where the southerner had to accept federal legislation and get around it. He passed laws without number, the object of which was to avoid obedience to the federal law. Much of the deceit and much of the failure honestly and frankly to face problems was due to the fact that the generation—one generation at least—was raised under a system of legislation, the object of which was to get by some legal method what one could not get by an *honest* legal procedure. That, I think, is one of the most disastrous things that ever happened to a democracy and to a section in a democracy.

MR. MCGILL: I want to come back to my original point, which is that the South wants to become the part of the nation that the nation hasn't let it become. I think that I ought to pay a tribute to the Negroes and to the white people both in the South. We've had all sorts of inflammatory political campaigns. We've had all sorts of stories about "Eleanor Clubs"—stories which turn out to be utterly false and put out, probably, by Axis propagandists. We've had all sorts of things which ought to have created trouble down there, but it hasn't happened. It won't happen if we can be made a part of the nation and can be allowed to take our own leadership and work it out.

MR. REDFIELD: What you say, McGill, encourages me to think that a strong national position with reference to this racial issue can be taken without endangering public safety.

MR. CRAVEN: That's exactly what we want to do. We want to get the support of the South and enable the South to take its part in this progressive development.

The thing is, I'm afraid, that we will go so fast that instead of getting progress we'll get revolution. I'm afraid that instead of getting cooperation we'll get conflict. It seems to me that nothing is more important than the fact that we take into consideration local conditions and local circumstances and that we will give the South a chance before we push a program onto the South. That chance has to come, first of all, in solving the southern problems as a whole so that the South can then intelligently solve her own problems.

MR. REDFIELD: I understand that, but I would quote Carey McWilliams, who wrote as follows: "An unfair racial practice act would not eliminate race prejudice, but it would check discrimination." There are any number of people, as you have just said, in the South who want to treat fairly persons of all racial groups, but who are unable to do so because their competitors are not doing so. If they were given the support of legislation, they might be able to support the liberal leadership in the South, so that the real advance could be made.[2]

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[2] ". . . . To end the despotism of bigotry, an all-inclusive federal civil rights statute should be adopted. It should, moreover, be termed, not a civil rights statute, but a fair racial practice act. In method and procedure, it should follow the pattern of the National Labor Relations Act; and its enforcement should be relegated to a similar administrative agency. . . . . A fair racial practice act would, therefore, enlarge my rights while protecting those of the Negro. In the absence of such a code, society penalizes the decent impulses of its citizens and makes the expression of liberal attitudes unnecessarily difficult and complex. Society should not only establish the policy of no discrimination; it should enforce the practice. . . . . An unfair racial practice act would not eliminate race prejudice, but it would check discrimination . . . ." (Carey McWilliams, "The Color of America," *Antioch Review*, winter, 1942).

MR. MCGILL: Redfield, I don't think you quite realize—and it's not very fair of me to say that—what poverty has done to the South, what lack of money has done, and how it's made it impossible for us to educate people. We've got a lot of problems. This thing in the South is not just the Negro question. It applies equally to a great many thousands of poor white people. We've got to prepare the way. We've got to prepare those people to be able to accept this and to come forward.

MR. CRAVEN: You can get more efficiency perhaps, Redfield, by federal legislation and by federal officials, but we will not get the cooperation that will mean permanent improvement of our problems unless we go slowly enough for the public opinion to support the effort at the same time we're getting that efficiency.

MR. REDFIELD: Gentlemen, we seem to agree that this racial discrimination is a great evil; that it is in conflict with our democratic principles; that that conflict was never more dangerous, perhaps, than it is today when we are so seriously at war; and that some solution must be found.

The difficulty we have is that difficulty of making a reasonable-enough progress in the direction of granting to the minority groups the rights which they should have without, at the same time, endangering public safety by stirring up reactionary resentment and perhaps violence.

The choice, the course, is a difficult one, but America is used to taking difficult courses.

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Minority Groups in the United States

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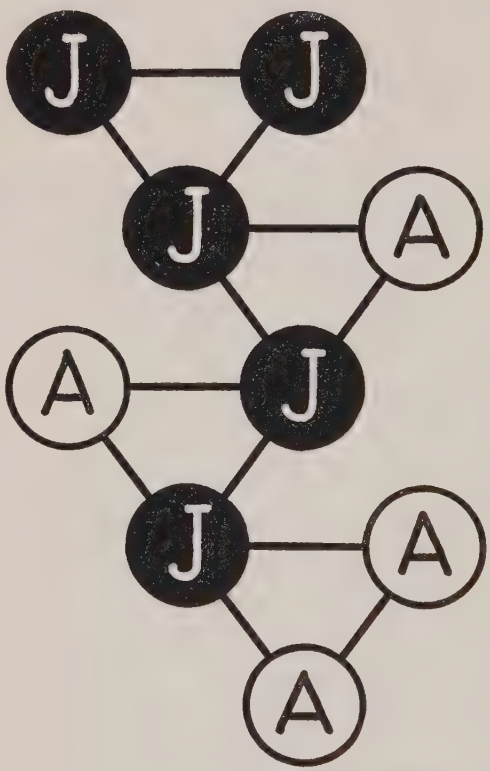
The United States of America is a country distinguished by the presence of numerous minority groups and communities. The units vary markedly as to race, religion, economic status, education, and their place in the American scene. However, even though there are wide differences among the issues facing the Indian, the Negro, the Jew, the Japanese, and the alien, there are certain common problems in the solution of which they all have a vital interest. Perhaps wartime has sharpened the issues which the minorities have always to face. Nevertheless, the American public today is challenged, as never before, to solve the conflicts and find a place for the minority groups in its culture at the same time that it is fighting a war on foreign fronts.

The following pages are presented in order both to define and to clarify some of the issues involved in the minority question.

How To Become an "Aryan"

In Three Generations . . . .



JEWISH PARENTS

MIXED MARRIAGE

CHILD IS "NON-ARYAN" BECAUSE TWO GRANDPARENTS WERE JEWS

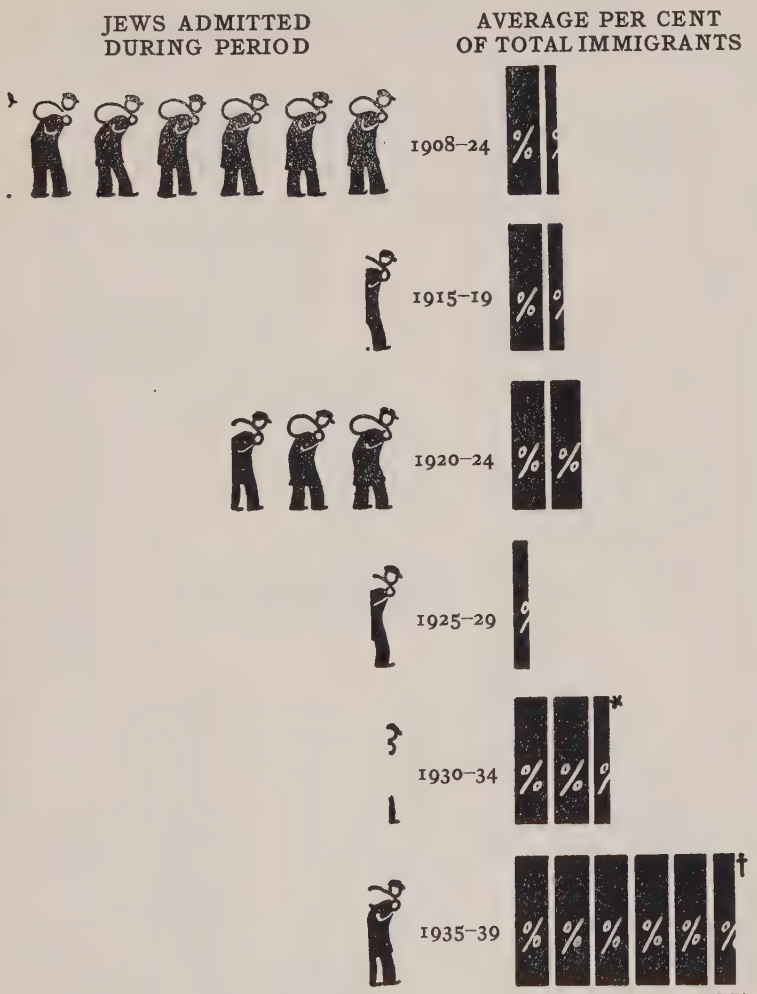
GRANDCHILD IS "NON-ARYAN" BECAUSE ONE GRANDPARENT WAS A JEW

GREAT-GRANDCHILD IS "ARYAN" BECAUSE NO GRANDPARENT WAS A JEW

DATA: GERMAN CIVIL SERVICE LAW, 1933

The problems of the Jewish minority, according to Mr. Craven, "run farthest back into human history." Thus it may be said that America has inherited the problem of anti-Semitism—a challenge to our democracy which has been accentuated by the war and the ripples of the state-inspired policies of Nazi Germany. The "solution" of Jewish minority problems can be solved neither by prejudice nor by such arbitrary devices as the above illustration suggests.

Jewish Immigration to the United States

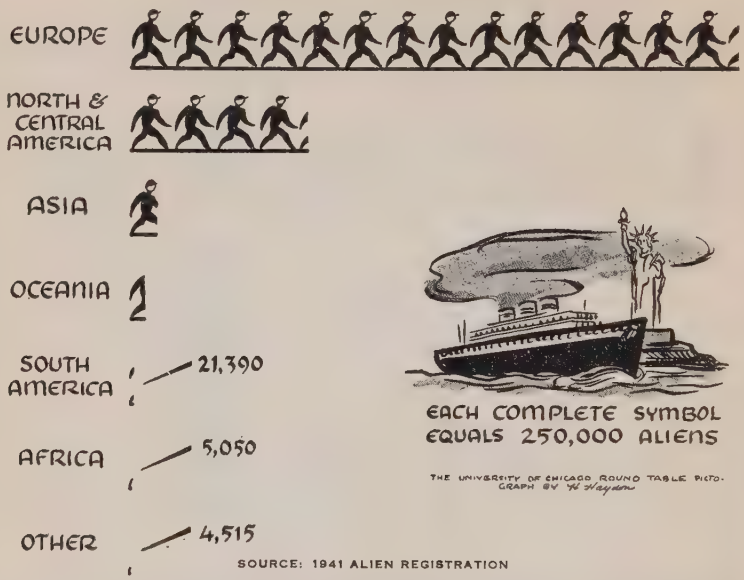


SOURCE: AMERICAN JEWISH YEARBOOK

* Percentage available for 1930 and 1931 only.

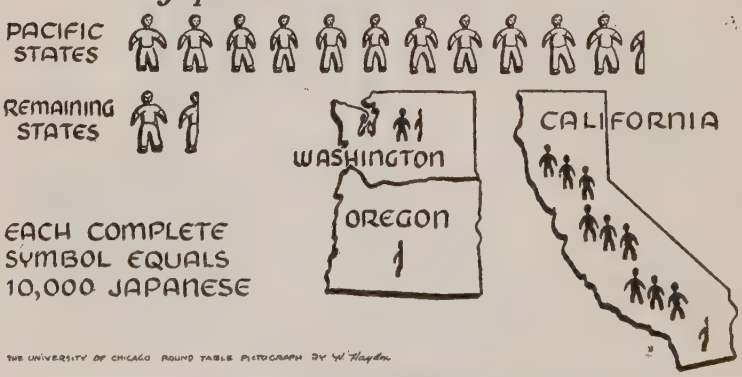
† Percentage available for 1937, 1938, and 1939 only.

Aliens in the United States



There were approximately five million aliens registered in the United States in 1941. The countries from which these people emigrated are shown above. Most of them have settled chiefly in our large cities and often have established their own distinct communities.

Japanese in the United States

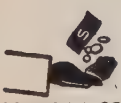


Since the advent of war, the Japanese who were living on the Pacific Coast have been moved inland to War Relocation Centers.

What the Negro Is Fighting Against

SEGREGATION
HOUSING HOTELS
OFFICE BUILDINGS RESTAURANTS

POOR HOUSING—
HIGH RENTS



LOWER WAGES

JOB DISCRIMINATION

DISCRIMINATION
IN THE NAVY

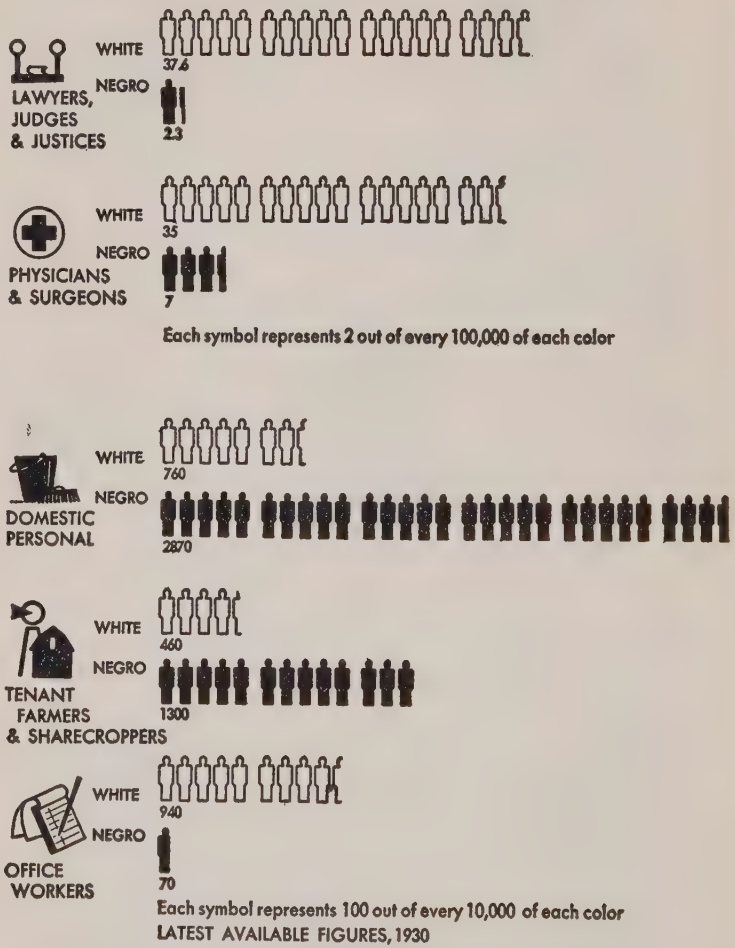
DISCRIMINATION
IN THE ARMY

Courtesy Public Affairs Committee, Pamphlet No. 71, "The Negro and the War."

The thirteen million Negroes in the United States have been called America's "number-one" minority problem. Above and following are some of the bases of the problem and facts which will have to be considered in reaching any solution.

Occupations of Whites and Negroes

(Gainfully Employed Workers Ten Years Old and Over)

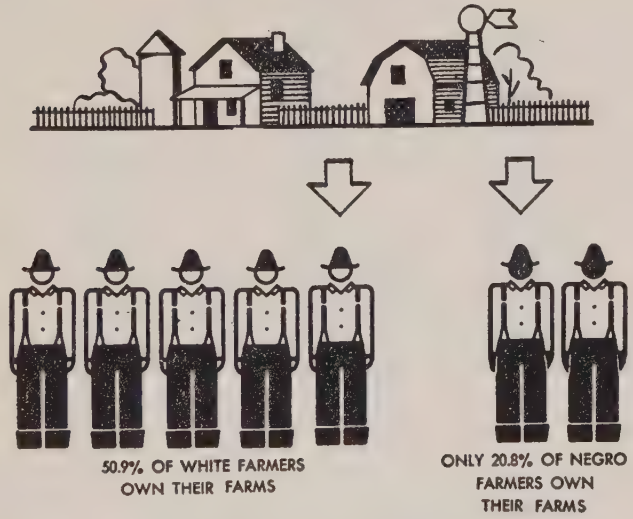


Courtesy Public Affairs Committee, Pamphlet No. 71, "The Negro and the War."

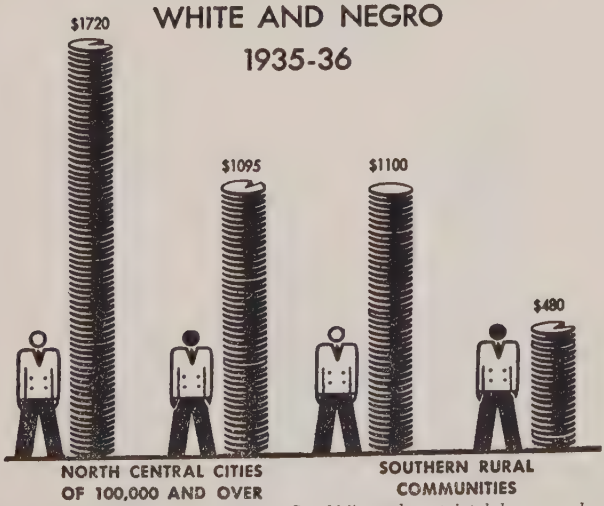
Employment records demonstrate the basis of Negro dissatisfaction with existing conditions and opportunities. Necessity, not choice, fills their ranks with tenant farmers, share-croppers, and domestic helpers.

The Negro's Economic Status in the Nation

FARM OWNERSHIP

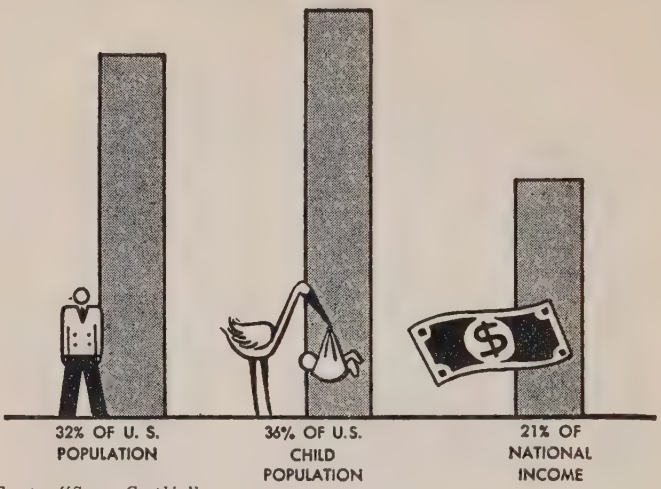


FAMILY INCOME
WHITE AND NEGRO
1935-36



Courtesy "Survey Graphic." (All "Survey Graphic" graphs reprinted here were drawn by the Pictograph Corporation.)

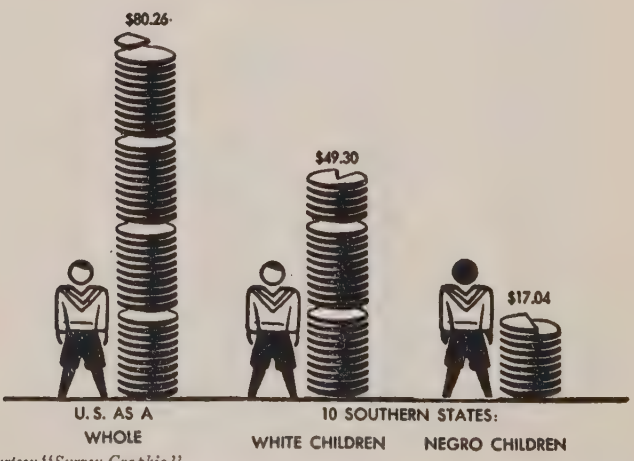
The South's Place in the Nation



Courtesy "Survey Graphic."

The South's economic problem, according to Mr. McGill, makes the Negro a "minority's minority."

EDUCATIONAL EXPENDITURES PER PUPIL, 1936



Courtesy "Survey Graphic."

More on This Topic

BROWN, EARL, and LEIGHTON, GEORGE R., *The Negro and the War.* "Public Affairs Pamphlets," No. 71. New York: Public Affairs Committee, 1942. *A summary of the Negro and wartime employment policy.*

"Color: Unfinished Business of Democracy," *Survey Graphic*, November, 1942. *Twenty-three articles on the Negro in the United States and the challenge of color to democracy.*

DABNEY, VIRGINIUS, "Nearer and Nearer the Precipice," *Atlantic Monthly*, January, 1943. *Strongly deplores the "extremist Negro leaders . . . . demanding an overnight revolution in race relations."*

GRAHAM, SHIRLEY, "Negroes Are Fighting for Freedom," *Common Sense*, February, 1943.

GRAVES, JOHN TEMPLE, "The Solid South Is Cracking," *American Mercury*, April, 1943. *Says that the Negro in the North is acquiring a great political importance.*

HAYNES, GEORGE E., "Racial Roots of War," *Survey Graphic*, March, 1943.

MCWILLIAMS, CAREY, "The Color of America," *Antioch Review*, winter, 1942.

"Minority Peoples in a Nation at War," *Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, September, 1942. *Twenty-seven articles on the need for national solidarity, the Negro and the war, minorities of alien origin, and the treatment of minorities in a democracy.*

REDDING, J. SAUNDERS, "A Negro Speaks for His People," *Atlantic Monthly*, March, 1943. *Says that the Negro is now affirming that "the rights fundamental to all men shall no longer be denied him."*

SANCTON, THOMAS, "Something's Happened to the Negro," *New Republic*, February 8, 1943.

———, "Trouble in Dixie," *ibid.*, January 4, 11, and 18, 1943.

WIRTH, LOUIS, "Morale and Minority Groups," *American Journal of Sociology*, November, 1941.

What Do *You* Think?

1. Do you think that the full manpower resources of American minority groups have been utilized in the war effort? Should the national government through the War Manpower Commission promote such utilization? What role should the federal government assume?

2. Do you think that Negro leaders are justified in demanding "first-class citizenship" at this time? What is the attitude toward the Negro in your community?

3. In your opinion has the war resulted in fairer treatment of minority groups in the United States? Is war the time to make changes in minority-group status? Have Negro-white relations in the South become more tense in the past year? Why?

4. Do you think the best policy was followed in evacuating Japanese-American and Japanese citizens of the West Coast and placing them in large relocation camps? What policy should be adopted in regard to these people now?

5. What has been the historic importance of anti-Semitism in the United States? Do you think that anti-Semitism has increased or decreased in these war years? Consider how anti-Semitism has been used by Hitler and others as a political weapon to sow hatred and disunity and to divert attention from fundamental problems. What are the effective ways of combating anti-Semitism?

6. Why do you think minority problems form such an important part of the challenge to democracy? Do you think America will ever be able to close the gap between what is practiced and what is preached in regard to the minorities in a democracy? Discuss the minority problem in relation to the post-war problems of employment and political unity.

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260. *Is This a Conservative War?*
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No. 98—"The Jews," with Malcolm Willey, Louis Wirth, and John Wilson, broadcast January 28, 1940.

No. 186—"Anti-Semitism: A Threat to American Unity?" with Arthur Compton, Robert Redfield, and Louis Wirth, broadcast October 5, 1941.

No. 217—"Aliens in Our Midst," with Ernest Colwell, Carey McWilliams, and Louis Wirth, broadcast May 10, 1942.

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SUGGESTED READINGS

BECKER, CARL, "How New Will the Better World Be?" *Yale Review*, spring, 1943.

"Declaration to the World," *Time*, March 22, 1943.

WELLES, SUMNER, "The Victory of Peace," *Vital Speeches*, March 15, 1943.

[PRINTED IN U.S.A.]